

**TOP SECRET SENSITIVE
EXCLUSIVE EYES ONLY**

1972 OCT 26 PM 7 57

**T O P S E C R E T 262315Z OCT 72 SENSITIVE EXCLUSIVELY EYES ONLY
VIA BUNKER CHANNELS**

DOS Review Completed.

**TO: AMBASSADOR BUNKER
FROM: HENRY A. KISSINGER
CITE: WHS 2301**

OCTOBER 26, 1972

ON-FILE NSC RELEASE
INSTRUCTIONS APPLY

DELIVER OPENING OF BUSINESS

**FOR : AMBASSADOR BUNKER
FROM: HENRY A. KISSINGER**

1. WE HAVE JUST LEARNED THAT THIEU HAS SENT EMISSARIES TO ASIAN CAPITALS IN AN EFFORT TO ELICIT THEIR SUPPORT IN OPPOSING THE CURRENT DRAFT AGREEMENT. APPARENTLY THIS DECISION WAS MADE PRIOR TO MY 11:30 AM BRIEFING OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS CORPS WHICH WAS NECESSITATED BY TODAY'S REVELATIONS BY HANOI. THIEU'S ACTIONS ARE, OF COURSE, A FURTHER MANIFESTATION OF HIS FAILURE, OR CALCULATED UNWILLINGNESS, TO ACCEPT THE FACT THAT WE INTEND TO PROCEED WITH A VIEW TO KEEPING THE DRAFT AGREEMENT WITHIN ITS PRESENT OVERALL FRAMEWORK. I AM CONCERNED THAT WHEN HE READS TODAY'S PRESS BRIEFING HE MAY BECOME EVEN FURTHER HARDENED IN HIS OPPOSITION TO THE DRAFT AGREEMENT. MY BRIEFING HAD TO BE TIGHTLY BALANCED EFFORT, ON THE ONE HAND TRYING TO PREVENT THIEU FROM BECOMING ISOLATED AS THE SOLE OPPOSITION TO PEACE, AND ON THE OTHER HAND TRYING TO PREVENT A BREAK WITH HANOI.

2. THERE ARE TWO CRUCIAL IMMEDIATE TASKS BEFORE US:
--FIRST, WE MUST SOMEHOW CONVINCE THIEU THAT THE COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS HE HAS JUST LAUNCHED SERVE ONLY TO CREATE MISUNDERSTANDING AMONG OUR ASIAN FRIENDS, AND, MORE IMPORTANTLY, TO DIVERT HIS ATTENTION FROM THE KINDS OF PREPARATORY STEPS HE SHOULD BE TAKING AT HOME.

--SECOND, YOU SHOULD INFORM THIEU THAT A PORTION OF WHAT WAS SAID IN TODAY'S PRESS CONFERENCE WAS STRUCTURED FOR THE PARTICULAR OBJECTIVE OF PREVENTING HIM FROM BEING ISOLATED AS THE SOLE OBSTACLE TO PEACE. SO FAR, WE HAVE BARELY MANAGED TO SUCCEED IN HEADING OFF A GROUND SWELL OF OPINION ALONG THESE LINES FROM DEVELOPING HERE. SHOULD THIS OCCUR, IT WOULD POSE THE GREATEST OF RISKS TO OUR CONTINUING ABILITY TO SUPPORT HIM. THUS, HE MUST READ THE PRESS REPORTS AND MY PRESS BRIEFING IN THAT CONTEXT AND OVERCOME ANY TEMPTATION HE MIGHT HAVE TO TAKE VIOLENT EXCEPTION TO WHAT WAS SAID. PLEASE BE GUIDED BY YOUR BEST JUDGMENT ON THIS ITEM. THIEU MAY BE VERY COMFORTABLE WITH THE PRESS CONFERENCE AND WE SHOULD NOT RAISE DOUBTS WHEN THERE ARE NONE.

3. AS I POINTED IN WHS 2298 YESTERDAY, YOU HAVE THE EXCEPTIONALLY DIFFICULT TASK OF PREVENTING THIEU FROM NOURISHING HIS CURRENT ILLUSIONS BUT DOING SO IN A WAY WHICH WILL NOT DRIVE HIM INTO AN EQUALLY SUICIDAL OPEN BREAK WITH US. THE ACTIONS TAKEN TODAY BY HANOI AND OUR NEED TO COPE WITH THESE ACTIONS THROUGH MY PRESS BRIEFING THIS AFTERNOON MAY WELL FURTHER COMPLICATE THIS TASK FOR YOU. PLEASE SEE THIEU AGAIN AND:

A. ATTEMPT TO DISCOURAGE HIM FROM PURSUING THOROUGHLY COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE ACTIVITIES SUCH AS THE DIPLOMATIC EFFORT HE IS LAUNCHING;

B. EXPLAIN TO HIM THE CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH IN LARGE MEASURE SHAPED MANY OF THE STATEMENTS MADE BY ME AT THE PRESS CONFERENCE TODAY. ABOVE ALL, YOU SHOULD IMPRESS UPON HIM THE NEED TO ADHERE TO THE PRESS LINE AGREED TO THIS MORNING AND OUTLINED IN SAIGON 0236.

4. PLEASE KEEP AS CAREFUL A FEEL ON THIEU'S PULSE AS YOU CAN AND APPRISE US BY FLASH VIA THIS CHANNEL SHOULD YOU OBSERVE ANY INDICATION OF A WILLINGNESS ON HIS PART TO BREAK OPENLY WITH US. THIS APPLIES AS WELL TO ANY PUBLIC STATEMENTS OR ACTIONS BY THIEU OR OTHER GVN OFFICIALS WHICH COULD ERODE U.S. CREDIBILITY OR CONTINUING COOPERATION BETWEEN OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS.

WARM REGARDS.

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